

SHIVAJI

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CHAPTER IX

SHIVĀJĪ

I THE RISE OF THE BHOSLES

The origin of the Bhosle (also called Bhonsle) clan of the Marāthā caste and even the derivation of their name are shrouded in mystery. They claimed descent from the Śisodia Rānās of Chitor and Udaipur, and possibly a branch of their family migrated to the south after the kingdom of Chitor had been devastated by Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī early in the fourteenth century¹. So far as the Marāthā history is concerned, the Yādavas of Devagiri, later named Daulatābād, the Bhosles of Verul and the Nimbālkars of Phaltan near Palara, are the three Marāthā families which are connected with the rise of Shivājī. Of these, the Yādavas were the descendants of the renowned rulers of Devagiri who were subjugated by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī of Delhi towards the end of the thirteenth century. The descendants of this ruling Yādava family took service with the Nizām Shāhīs of Ahmadnagar. This city was invaded and captured by the Emperor Akbar in 1600, and the Nizām Shāhī kingdom was on the point of extinction, when an able organizer named Malīk 'Ambar, an Abyssinian minister of that State, came to its rescue. 'Ambar made friends with the Hindus and, using their best talent and co-operation both for war and administration, he improved the revenues of that kingdom and successfully opposed the Mughul advance for a quarter of a century. In this grand political struggle Shivājī's father, Shāhjī, and grandfather, Malojī, were closely associated with Malīk 'Ambar, so that they gradually realized their strength and asserted their power in the course of time.

Lukhjī Jādhava of Devagiri had a clever daughter named Jijā Bāi, who was married in 1605 to Malojī Bhosle's son, Shāhjī, a brave soldier of fortune, who long exerted himself in upholding the falling fortunes of the Nizām Shāhī against the Mughul onslaught².

Marāthā history in its initial stages is, thus, an unbroken struggle of three generations of the Mughul emperors striving to put down the three generations of the Bhosle family. In this trial of strength, Malojī and his son, Shāhjī, prepared the ground, of which Shivājī, the offspring of Shāhjī and Jijā Bāi, took advantage. The three emperors, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib, attempted to subjugate the Deccan and the Bhosles stood forth to defend it, al-

though the parties were unevenly matched, the Bhosles being poor in resources compared with the might of the emperors. Maloji and Shāhjī acquired lands under the Nizām Shāhī regime, rendering service in return. The Bhosles soon made themselves indispensable to the rulers of the Nizām Shāhī State. 'Ambar patronized them and used their services in keeping the Mughuls at bay. In the battle of Bhatvadi near Ahmadnagar in 1624 Malik 'Ambar inflicted a crushing defeat upon the combined armies of Delhi and Bijāpur. Shāhjī, who took part in this battle, won distinction and gained valuable experience. Thereafter for several years Shāhjī ably defended the Nizām Shāhī State against the all-powerful Shāh Jahān. Shāh Jahān, after years of war, succeeded in 1636 in extinguishing the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and expelling Shāhjī from his homeland. The latter sought service under the Sultān of Bijāpur on condition that he should no longer live in Mahārāshtra.

Shāhjī's later life was spent in the regions once ruled by the Hindu sovereigns of Vijayanagara which had been devastated by the Muslims in 1565. Later on, when Shāhjī established his position at Bangalore and Kanakagiri, he had to deal with the various Hindu chieftains of the old Vijayanagara State. Here he imbibed the tradition of Hindu independence and resistance to Muslim aggression. Shāhjī's wife, Jijā Bāi, carried in her vein a similar tradition of her Yādava ancestors. Thus their son Shivājī was fired from early days with the same spirit of independence. Shāhjī died in 1664 in Bijāpur service by an accident while hunting.

II. SHIVAJI'S EARLY LIFE

Shivājī was born on 6 April, 1627, in the fort of Shivner near Junnar.¹ His mother Jijā Bāi gave birth to six sons, of whom the eldest, Sambhājī, and the youngest, Shivājī, alone grew up to old age. Shāhjī and his father-in-law, Lukhājī, often faced each other in open battles, as the latter deserted his master Nizām Shāh and joined the Mughul emperor. But the spirited lady, like a pious wife, elected to follow her husband's fortunes and refused to go to her father's home for her delivery, when picked up by him after a battle on a high road in her advanced pregnancy. In that sad plight she took her residence in fort Shivner, then under her husband's jurisdiction. In this fort was Shivājī born. Her eldest son, Sambhājī, lived with his father and shared his labour in Bijāpur service. Shāhjī thereafter deserted Jijā Bāi and married a second wife, Tukābāi, of the Mohite family of Supa. She gave birth to a son named Ekojī or Vyankojī, who later became the founder of the kingdom of Tanjore. When hard pressed by the emperor

Shāh Jahān in 1636, Shāhji had to flee for life after entrusting the management of his paternal *jāgīr* of Poona and the care of his wife Jijā Bāi and her young son Shivājī to his trusted agent Dādājī Kondadev, a clever officer in Bijāpur, who discharged the duty of guardianship most creditably

The early life of Shivājī was full of peril and adventure. For the first nine years of his life, a period of war conducted by his father against the Mughul emperor, the young boy and his mother had to wander from place to place in imminent danger of being captured and punished. Shāh Jahān's officers succeeded in capturing Jijā Bāi, but she cleverly managed to have her son concealed in an out of the way village. Later, she was released on payment of a large fine. It was in 1636 when a formal treaty was concluded that the son and the mother found a safe and settled residence at Poona where Dādājī built them a commodious house, *Lāl Mahāl*, as it later came to be known in history. Here Shivājī lived for some ten years, until they removed to their newly built fort Rāigarh, which became his first capital for the original *jāgīr*. Twenty years later, about 1667, Rāigarh became the formal residence of Shivājī, where his coronation took place.

The common education of those days was imparted to Shivājī as soon as he came into a settled life. He was taught reading, writing and arithmetic,^{3a} and heard portions of the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* expounded to him by the family preceptors. He was fond of *Harikīrtana* and devotional music, and attended the sermons of Sant Tukārām, then living and preaching in the vicinity of Poona. Shivājī received his best education, not through books and classes as in the present day, but in the wide world, by personal contact and practical experience. Intense love of religion was a trait he developed by the sight of Muslim atrocities and the reports he heard about them. He later introduced compulsory recitations of the war chapters of the *Rāmāyana* by all his fort garrisons.

Shivājī's success in life was, however, mainly due to hard and incessant knocks he had to share with his mother in his early days. Proud of her Kshatriya extraction, with vivid memories of her royal ancestors of Devagiri and their splendour, chastened by years of suffering ever since her marriage and now practically deserted by the husband, this spirited lady developed in her son a spirit of defiance and self-assertion and became to him a veritable guardian angel. All her life's ambition and solace now entirely centered in this boy's well-being and good fortune. Shāhji had defied a powerful emperor for years; why may not the son imitate the same course?

The mother and the boy constantly talked of wild plans which the shrewd Dādāji wholeheartedly supported. In addition, he imparted to Shivāji his own tact and circumspection gained during the course of his management of the Poona *jāgīr*, which in itself supplied a ready field for experiment. Dādāji was not merely a clerk or a competent accountant. A strict disciplinarian and taskmaster, he was, in addition, a noble character, well versed in the politics of the day with a buoyant spirit for organizing national resources and a hatred for foreign domination with its persecution of the Hindus. He had long served the Bhosle family through weal and woe as their trusted friend and adviser. He was imbued with a deep love for the peasantry and felt a keen anxiety for ameliorating their lot.

Thus the young Shivāji looked up to these two, his mother and the guardian, for guidance in life. The secluded hilly regions of the Māvals (the western valleys of Poona) offered him plenty of outdoor occupation and opportunity for adventure. Constant exposure to rain, sun and cold and the rough life in the midst of wild nature hardened the young boy's body and mind. Riding, wrestling, spear-games, swordsmanship, swimming through torrential streams, became his main occupation and he developed from his early childhood an intimate comradeship with man and nature away from the temptations of vice and luxury of court life. He made friends with companions of his age and wandered with them through hills and dales, organizing measures for defence. The art of disguise was in those days highly perfected for purposes of protection and the needs of life. Shivāji himself could dexterously imitate the voices of birds and beasts. He could quickly cover long distances on foot or riding, eluding pursuit and enduring privations. His rambles were intensive and deliberate for acquainting himself with secret paths, recesses and strongholds of the long Sahyādri range of the Deccan plateau. With eyes and ears ever alert, he gained first-hand knowledge of the sentiments of the people, their joys and sorrows, their occupations and resources, their needs and comforts.

Dādāji's first concern was to make Shivāji a real master of the people. He gave him useful hints as to how he should appear properly attired and behave among assemblages of village *panchāyats* and on public occasions. Dādāji proclaimed to the people that they were to look up to Shivāji for all their needs as well as for the redress of their grievances.

III. THE FIRST EXPERIMENT IN SWARAJ

The *jāgīr* entrusted by Shāhji to the care of Jijā Bāi and Dādāji extended over the regions known as the Māvals mentioned above, namely the valleys to the west of Poona, roughly extending from Junnar to Wai. Dādāji raised a local militia for guarding the lives and property of the inhabitants and, along with Shivāji, toured the villages making inquiries and deciding disputes on the spot. The land revenue system, initiated by Akbar under the directions of Todarmal, had been already adopted in the Deccan by Malik 'Ambar and now Dādāji adopted it for the territories of the *jāgīr*. Dādāji took measures to destroy wild animals that damaged the crops; fresh lands were brought under cultivation, gardening and tree-planting were specially encouraged. All this work of development which greatly enhanced the welfare of the people and were carried out in Shivāji's presence and in his name proved for him a valuable preparation in practical methods of government in his future life. It fostered a sense of emulation and self-help among the people, eliminated their usual lethargy and despair, and instilled into them a bright new hope. Friends and comrades of varied capacities quickly flocked round the new boy-master to share his labours, willing to make any sacrifice that might be demanded. Shivāji's vision expanded. He began to dream of grand prospects outside the limits of his *jāgīr*. He held secret consultations with his comrades in arms, planning to make fresh acquisitions, repairing buildings, garrisons and forts, raising funds by daring night attacks on private and public treasures. Buried wealth was cleverly traced and carried away. It became a strong belief throughout the land that Goddess Bhavāni appeared before the young hero and communicated to him the exact location of secret hoards. Earnest work earned quick results.

Shivāji possessed a persuasive tongue with which he at once won peoples' hearts. He was alert and foremost in jumping into a risk and facing the consequences. He held secret conferences with his companions and anxiously deliberated on the liberation of his homeland from Muslim control so as to put an end to the wanton persecution of the Hindus. Shivāji's court historian thus summarizes his sentiments:

"Why should we remain content with what the Muslim rulers choose to give us? We are Hindus. This whole country is ours by right, and is yet occupied and held by foreigners. They desecrate our temples, break holy idols, plunder our wealth, convert us forcibly to their religion, carry away our women folk and children, slay the cows and inflict a thousand wrongs upon us. We will suffer this

treatment no more. We possess strength in our arms. Let us draw the sword in defence of our sacred religion, liberate our country and acquire new lands and wealth by our own effort. Are we not as brave and capable as our ancestors of yore? Let us undertake this holy mission and God will surely help us. All human efforts are so helped. There is no such thing as good luck and ill luck. We are the captains of our fortunes and the makers of our freedom."⁴

The pious Jijā Bāi blessed these sentiments. She daily witnessed how complete darkness prevailed under Muslim government, where there was no law, no justice; the officials acted as they pleased. Violation of women's honour, murders and forcible conversions were the order of the day. News of demolition of temples, cow-slaughter and other atrocities poured upon the ears of that lady so constantly that she used to exclaim: "Can we not remedy this evil? Will not my son have the strength to come forth boldly to resist it?" The Nizām Shāh had openly murdered Jijā Bāi's father, his brothers and sons. Bājāji Nimbālkar, the ruler of Phaltan, a scion of the old Paramāra race, was forcibly converted by the Sultān of Bijāpur. The Hindus could not lead an honourable life. This spectacle moved the lady and her son to righteous indignation. An intense feeling of revolt took possession of their minds. Shivāji prayed for strength, dreamt bright visions and entered upon a wild career full of hope and promise without caring for consequences. He possessed an in-born capacity of judging the character of men almost at first sight. He mixed with all kinds of men and picked up suitable helpmates, and converted to his views even those who were leading evil lives. His sympathy and selflessness and his earnest endeavour to serve his land appealed to all, so that within a few years the contrast became glaring between the improved conditions of his paternal *jāgīr* and the disorder prevailing in the Muslim-ruled region outside. Soon a compact, well-knit geographical unit of a small *swarājya* came into being in which law and order prevailed, duties of officials were clearly defined, justice quickly rendered, honest work well rewarded and where life and wealth were perfectly secure. All this had profound effect upon the ruling class and even Shivāji's father in far-off Bangalore.

IV. FIRST CONFLICT

Shāhji was employed by 'Ādil Shāh in the conquest of the Karnātak regions, which once formed part of the Vijayanagara empire. Shāhji thus became the helpless instrument for conquering the Hindus and pouring the wealth of Hindu shrines into the Muslim coffers of Bijāpur. Stories of this fresh spoliation reached the ears

of Jijā Bāi and Shivājī and caused them extreme distress. In the meantime, the activities of Shivājī and Dādājī in the Māval lands enraged the ruling authorities of Bijāpur and induced them to take prompt measures to put down the revolt. Shāhji felt extreme annoyance at the turn the affairs were taking both in his own sphere at Bangalore and in the Deccan. Jijā Bāi and Dādājī had Shivājī married about the year 1640 to a girl from the Nimbālkar family, named Saibai. Soon after this event, the atmosphere became tense for Shāhji as mentioned above. His own position as a loyal servant of Bijāpur and his son's revolt could not go together. Very probably, Shāhji was called upon to account for the impropriety and asked to restrain his son. As Shivājī was yet too young to appear as the author of the mischief, the mother and the regent Dādājī were held mainly responsible for the reported disloyalty and sedition. In such circumstances, Shāhji invited to Bangalore, for a personal deliberation, Jijā Bāi and Dādājī under the plea that he was anxious to see his newly wedded daughter-in-law and his young son. The party was away from home for nearly two years (1642-43), when the whole family and establishment of Shāhji met together at Bangalore. Shāhji, one may gather, discussed the situation fully and freely. Jijā Bāi, finding it awkward to put forth any decided plan of action, employed her sojourn, it seems, in visiting the famous shrines of the south and avoided discussion. She certainly felt no regret for the revolt her son was organizing in the interest of national honour. The authorities of Bijāpur fully knew what was going on. 'Ādil Shāh commanded Shāhji to pay a personal visit to his court at Bijāpur with all his family and there receive the Government's decision on the course to be followed in future. Shāhji therefore paid a visit to Bijāpur about the year 1643, and spent some time there in answering charges preferred against himself and his management of the Poona *jāgīr*. The defiance attributed to Shivājī in not making the prescribed bow when he attended the *Darbār*, appears to have occurred at this time. It was also during this visit that Shivājī is said to have restrained a butcher slaughtering a cow in a public thoroughfare. Small though in itself, the incident reveals the audacious and uncompromising trait in Shivājī's character. When he perceived a vital wrong being perpetrated, he at once punished the wrong-doer, reckless of consequences. At Bijāpur, Shivājī retaliated the outrage on a cow and would perhaps have been imprisoned had he not managed to run away unnoticed to his homeland. He lost no time upon his return in forming an independent State of his own wherein full political and religious freedom would prevail without molestation from the Muslim overlords. While at Bangalore the subject was doubtless fully discussed and again also at Bijāpur,

with what outcome we have no means of knowing. It seems there was no way for a compromise. The father and the son probably formed an understanding between them how best to ward off the danger apprehended from the Bijāpur atrocities. The father would answer that he was not responsible for what his son did and that he was powerless to punish him. This was indeed the reality. At heart, Shāhji probably approved the way the son was following and even encouraged him by lending him some trained loyal officials from Bangalore to organize a proper government for the *jāgīr*. Elephants, infantry, cavalry with flags and insignia of royalty, in addition to the treasure for immediate need, were, say Parmānand and Sabhāsad, despatched from Bangalore by Shāhji for his son's use. Shyam-rāo Nilakanth Peshwā, Sonopant Dabir and other officials of Shāhji's trust were sent for duty in Mahārāshtra.

How money was collected for this venture and how ingeniously the plan was put into execution by gradual steps and careful forethought must now be told. Seven years of efficient management of the Māval *jāgīr* now began to yield fruit in the shape of a regular substantial income, which Shivāji utilized in maintaining infantry, repairing and garrisoning forts and improving the administrative machinery. Already a band of young enthusiastic comrades flocked around him to share his labours and execute his commands. One such was Kanhoji Jedhe,¹ Deshmukh of Kari, a leading and respectable chieftain in the employ of Bijapur and well known to the Bhosles for a long time. With Kanhoji's help, Shivāji, after his return from Bijapur, easily acquired possession of all the twelve Māval forts, west of Poona, along with fort Rohida and fort Sinhgarh which he strongly garrisoned. He immediately started building a new fort which he named Rāigarh and made it the principal seat of his government. These activities during the two years 1644-1645 could no longer be concealed from the knowledge of the Shāh of Bijapur, who took immediate steps to restrain Dādāji and disgrace Shāhji. The Shāh called upon Kanhoji Jedhe to remain faithful on pain of death.

Shivāji replied to the Shāh's challenge, saying that he was not disloyal; he was merely putting his turbulent lands in a state of defence and bringing peace so essential for the development of this hilly country. Shivāji was, however, busy, running from place to place, securing recruits for his plan, forming friendships, encouraging, persuading, threatening and coercing people so that they soon began to talk of him as a heaven-sent leader. In 1646 the Shāh of Bijapur was attacked by paralysis which kept him bed-ridden

throughout the remaining decade of his life, an incident which directly favoured the task of Shivājī.

V. INDEPENDENCE TAKES SHAPE

Shivājī's guardian, Dādāji Kondadev, died in 1647 and left Shivājī entirely to his own resources. He now set about his work with greater vigour and allowed no break in his undertaking. He soon managed to capture two strong forts near Poona, Chākan in the north and Purandar in the east, both of great strategic importance. The guardian of Purandar was one Nilopant Sarnaik, a long-standing friend of the Bhosle family whose shelter Shivājī sought during the rains of 1648. When, during the Divālī celebration of that year Shivājī and his family were admitted into the fort as friendly guests, Shivājī managed to persuade his host and his brothers to accept him as their master, resigning their traditional service to Bijāpur. This illustrates to what different artifices Shivājī had recourse in accomplishing his object.

Next, Shivājī one dark night surprised Sambhāji Mohite of Supa, an important wealthy mart, south-east of Poona. Sambhāji Mohite's sister, Tukābāt, was the second wife of Shāhji and so Shivājī's step-mother. Sambhāji offered but little resistance. He was captured and despatched to Bangalore, as an undesirable neighbour.

Shivājī had now two main objects in view,—first, to secure the utmost welfare of the people in his charge, and secondly, to have well-guarded frontiers which he could easily hold. He was careful not to attempt any expansion at the sacrifice of security. He proclaimed his independence in a curious fashion. He began to use a new seal on all official papers issued by him with a significant motto, which ran thus: "This seal of Shiva, son of Shāh, shines forth for the welfare of the people and is meant to command increasing respect from the universe like the first phase of the moon." This seal is found attached to papers dating 1648 onward, so that one may conclude that this novel plan of Shivājī began to take shape about that year.

Similarly papers are found in which Shivājī's title *Chhatrapati* and the seals of his ministers thereon are mentioned.⁶⁰ This proves that a small cohesive independent State with ministers and officials charged with definite duties came into being some time before 1653, although the final shape took many years to be completed and was announced only at the time of his formal coronation.

A serious danger, however, threatened the whole project. Bijāpur could not take all this lying down. In 1648 the Adil Shāhi forces led by Mustafā Khān, under whom served Shāhjī, were fighting before the fort of Gingee. One night, the chief commander Mustafā suddenly raided Shāhjī's camp and made him a captive under the orders of the Shāh. He was then sent to Bijāpur for trial and threatened with death if he did not restrain his son Shivājī from the wicked course he was following. Shāhjī was then called upon to restore Sinhgarh and Bangalore, the former held by Shivājī and the latter by his elder son Sambhājī. This was the move the king of Bijāpur adopted to crush Shāhjī and his two rebellious sons. The father accordingly wrote to Shivājī to give back Sinhgarh and save his life. The elder son Sambhājī also was similarly approached in regard to Bangalore. At the same time, Bijāpur forces arrived at both these places to put down the rebellious brothers and take charge of the two important posts. The two brothers fought valiantly at both places and maintained their positions, inflicting severe losses upon the opponents. But Shāhjī was a prisoner in Bijāpur upon whom the Sultān could easily wreak his vengeance. Shāhjī wrote pressing Shivājī to save his life by restoring Sinhgarh. Jijā Bāi interceded with Shivājī for saving her husband's life and reluctantly the latter yielded and gave back the fort to Bijāpur.⁷

In the heart of the Māval country there ruled an ancient Deshmukh family named Moré in Satara District with their seat of authority in Jāvlī in the Mahābaleśvar range. Proud of their allegiance to Bijāpur, the Morés moved heaven and earth to put down this new Bhosle upstart, of a low origin in their estimation. So the inevitable clash came as Shivājī could not allow such an inimical rival to remain as his neighbour. For years, Shivājī used all his arts of persuasion and amity, as he had done in other cases before, in persuading the Morés to fall in with his plan of national uplift. Failing to conciliate them, Shivājī ultimately made up his mind to teach the Morés a lesson such as others could never forget. Early in 1656 Shivājī attacked Jāvlī and immediately captured it after killing its main defender Hanumant Rāo. Some members of their family ran to different places for safety. Shivājī negotiated with them, but failing in his endeavours to win them over, he in a short time killed three more of their large family, Yasvant Rāo and his sons Krishnaji and Bāji.⁸ The Bijāpur authorities could not save them. One member alone named Pratāp Rāo escaped to Bijāpur where he was taken under shelter and whence he continued for some time to cause pin-pricks to Shivājī's rising career. The

short work which Shivājī did with the Morés conveyed a wholesome lesson to all who would not willingly accept his plan. Here was a born leader to whom it was wise to submit. Such a belief engendered by this episode of the Morés and soon widely proclaimed outside, strengthened Shivājī's hands in all his future plans and projects, now mostly undertaken against foreign powers. No Marāthā clansman dared hereafter to stand in opposition to Shivājī. A small compact little kingdom soon came into being, comprising roughly the present districts of Poona and Satara. Written evidence gives 1653 as the time of the completion of this first phase of Shivājī's *swarājya*. To protect this new conquest of Jāvli, Shivājī erected a new fort and named it Pratāpgarh, which can now be sighted from the present hill station of Mahābaleśvar.

VI. AFZAL KHAN OVERCOME

Shivājī quickly followed up his conquest of Jāvli by descending into north Konkan and capturing Kalyān, its chief city, a wealthy mart of Adil Shāhī's west coast regions. He also seized by means of accurate planning a large treasure which was on its way from Kalyān to Bijāpur. In the course of this affair a young fair Muslim lady, the daughter-in-law of the Governor, fell into the hands of Shivājī's officers and was presented by them for Shivājī's acceptance as a trophy of the war. Shivājī disapproved this wicked action of his subordinates, reprimanded them severely, and allowed the lady to return to her home, duly protected by his own escort. This unprecedented generosity rare in the Muslim annals of India, enhanced Shivājī's reputation far and wide as the great respecter of the fair sex.

Having arranged the administration of north Konkan, Shivājī rapidly turned to the south, inspecting Dabhol, Shringarpur, Prabhavali, Rajapur, Kudal and other places on the coast with a view to fortifying it as a line of defence for his projected dominion. A few years later he erected the strong naval forts, a marvel of giant work even today, of Suvarnadurg, Vijayadurg, Sindhudurg (Malvan), and lastly Kolaba, and created a powerful navy with ship-building yards and arsenals for purposes both of defence and trade. Shivājī's ingenuity in this respect presents a striking contrast to the unpardonable neglect of the Mughul emperors for the naval defence of India. They paid no attention to what the Europeans were doing by establishing fortified factories on both the west and east coasts which ultimately proved so dangerous to the existence of the empire. Shivājī borrowed the plan from the Europeans, made friends with them and utilized their skill for his own purpose.

A serious danger, however, threatened the whole project. Bijāpur could not take all this lying down. In 1648 the Adil Shāhi forces led by Mustafā Khān, under whom served Shāhjī, were fighting before the fort of Gingee. One night, the chief commander Mustafā suddenly raided Shāhjī's camp and made him a captive under the orders of the Shāh. He was then sent to Bijāpur for trial and threatened with death if he did not restrain his son Shivājī from the wicked course he was following. Shāhjī was then called upon to restore Sinhgarh and Bangalore, the former held by Shivājī and the latter by his elder son Sambhājī. This was the move the king of Bijāpur adopted to crush Shāhjī and his two rebellious sons. The father accordingly wrote to Shivājī to give back Sinhgarh and save his life. The elder son Sambhājī also was similarly approached in regard to Bangalore. At the same time, Bijāpur forces arrived at both these places to put down the rebellious brothers and take charge of the two important posts. The two brothers fought valiantly at both places and maintained their positions, inflicting severe losses upon the opponents. But Shāhjī was a prisoner in Bijāpur upon whom the Sultān could easily wreak his vengeance. Shāhjī wrote pressing Shivājī to save his life by restoring Sinhgarh. Jijā Bāi interceded with Shivājī for saving her husband's life and reluctantly the latter yielded and gave back the fort to Bijāpur.⁷

In the heart of the Māval country there ruled an ancient Deshmukh family named Moré in Satara District with their seat of authority in Jāvlī in the Mahābaleśvar range. Proud of their allegiance to Bijāpur, the Morés moved heaven and earth to put down this new Bhosle upstart, of a low origin in their estimation. So the inevitable clash came as Shivājī could not allow such an inimical rival to remain as his neighbour. For years, Shivājī used all his arts of persuasion and amity, as he had done in other cases before, in persuading the Morés to fall in with his plan of national uplift. Failing to conciliate them, Shivājī ultimately made up his mind to teach the Morés a lesson such as others could never forget. Early in 1656 Shivājī attacked Jāvlī and immediately captured it after killing its main defender Hanumant Rāo. Some members of their family ran to different places for safety. Shivājī negotiated with them, but failing in his endeavours to win them over, he in a short time killed three more of their large family, Yasvant Rāo and his sons Krishnaji and Bāji.⁸ The Bijāpur authorities could not save them. One member alone named Pratāp Rāo escaped to Bijāpur where he was taken under shelter and whence he continued for some time to cause pin-pricks to Shivājī's rising career. The

claws and instantly bringing him to the ground. The whole affair was finished in a moment. As the bearers picked up the Khān's body to carry it away in his palanquin, they were quickly disabled by Shivājī's men, who severed the Khān's head and exhibited it from a high mast of the topmost bastion of the fort. It was by then the dusk of the evening, and concealed Marāthā parties, at a given signal, rushed out of the woods and routed the Khān's armies both in the wild passes of the hills and in the plain of Wai."

The tragic episode caused favourable repercussions for Shivājī far and near. Bijāpur now lay practically prostrate before him, and he at once became a power to be reckoned with. The fort of Panhāla in the heart of Mahārāshtra became now Shivājī's objective, as it was the last strong post belonging to Bijāpur in his onward march. It took Shivājī some years more to come into possession of this renowned fortress.

VII. SHĀYISTA KHĀN AND PLUNDER OF SURAT

Shortly after getting rid of Afzal Khān, Shivājī had to face a new danger. A new figure had come to occupy the Mughul throne at Delhi, who took prompt measures to put down ruthlessly the rising power of this Marāthā rebel. Aurangzib nominated his uncle, Shāyista Khān, to the Government of Deccan and sent him well-equipped to annihilate Shivājī while it was not yet too late. Afzal Khān was finished in November, 1659, and in the following January, Shāyista Khān arrived at Aurangabad and, quickly advancing seized Poona, making Shivājī's palace his own residence. He also captured Kalyān and north Konkan which Shivājī had possessed a short while before. The Khān's strength was irresistible, being fully backed by the whole might of the Mughul empire. For three long years, Shivājī was so hunted out in all directions that he became a homeless wanderer and was at a loss how to get out of this almost hopeless situation. In this darkest hour Shivājī's innate ingenuity alone saved him and he succeeded in turning the whole game against the Khān. He employed secret agents to obtain minute details about the arrangements and disposition of the Khān's camp and hit upon a bold plan of a surprise attack at night. With about fifty clever and intrepid followers, he entered the Mughul general's harem on the evening of 15 April, 1663. After midnight, when the guards and the Khān's family were asleep and enveloped in darkness, Shivājī and his companions attacked the inmates in their beds, cutting and hacking indiscriminately. The noise and confusion that resulted was indescribable; several were killed and wounded; the Khān himself, it was later discovered, escaped with

only his forefinger lost. One of his sons, forty attendants, and six women were killed. The incident proved eminently successful for Shivāji's purpose. Without undergoing a large-scale fighting, he struck terror into the heart of his opponents. The mortified emperor at once transferred the Khān to Bengal and the Mughul hold slackened in the Deccan. Shivāji, now breathing freely, resumed his onward career without check.

For a time after the departure of Shāyista Khān, Shivāji roamed fearlessly as an invincible conqueror. His spies wandered far and wide, bringing news of treasures and wealth of cities and of the weak links in the Mughul Government. His head spy, Bahirji Nāik, reported to Shivāji that of all the rich Mughul possessions Surat was the most undefended and contained enormous wealth. It was the richest port of western India and was highly prized by the emperor as an important port which was used by pilgrims to Mecca. Shivāji established a secret camp near Nasik with specially selected five thousand stalwarts; and without disclosing his destination he left the base on 1 January, 1664, and proceeded north through the coastal regions. He suddenly appeared at Surat and planted his flag at its eastern gate. On the previous day he had issued a warning to the local Governor and the richest merchants to pay a certain amount which he demanded or stand the consequences of his wrath for non-compliance. The warning was not heeded and, in addition, the Governor contrived a foul attempt on Shivāji's life on the third day of his arrival. In retaliation, Shivāji let loose hell upon the hapless town, burning and sacking in every possible way. Houses were dug up and set on fire, chests were broken open and heaps of money carried away. He took care to inflict no wanton cruelty upon innocent inhabitants. Possession of wealth was the only crime which he punished. On 9 January, hearing that Mughul armies were coming upon him from Burhānpur, Shivāji hurriedly returned with such booty as could be easily conveyed. No estimate of value of what he carried away is recorded. Possibly Shivāji himself never made an exact calculation, but the plunder must certainly have been in the neighbourhood of a crore of rupees, possibly double that amount. It was taken straight to Rāigarh and utilised to fortify that giant structure of his future capital.

Immediately on his return from Surat, Shivāji learned the sad news of his father's death near Harihar in the present Mysore territory. This made Jijā Bāi altogether disconsolate, and Shivāji was at great pains in dissuading her from undertaking the self-immolation of a *sati*.

Shivājī's sack of Sūrāt was the severest blow to Aurangzib and a direct affront to his power and prestige. The emperor lost his peace of mind and at once decided to send a fresh expedition against Shivājī and annihilate him for good.

VIII. SHIVAJI SUBMITS TO JAY SINGH

Aurangzib placed this new expedition under Mirzā Rājā Jay Singh with Dilir Khān to assist and probably to spy. The famous Italian traveller Manucci, then residing at Delhi, was pressed into service and accompanied the General as an officer of artillery. A splendidly equipped force commanded by Jay Singh left the base in December, 1664, and arrived at Poona in March following, when Shivājī, entirely unaware of these moves of the emperor, was engaged in consolidating his southern possessions and conducting a war against Bijāpur, where he had just overcome Khavās Khān and Bājī Ghorpāde who had come against him on behalf of that State. He killed Bājī Ghorpāde and, early in 1665, led a large naval expedition with fighting ships of large calibre on the Malabar coast and secured plunder from ports like Bassur. In February, he visited Karwar and while engaged in his devotions to the deity of Gokarn he learned of the terrible attack upon his homelands by Mirzā Rājā Jay Singh. Shivājī at once proceeded to Rāngarh and set about devising measures against this new danger.

Jay Singh carried out his undertaking with all the vigour and loyalty he was capable of. He secured implicit obedience and ungrudging help from all the chiefs and powers whom Shivājī had overawed, and he actively supported those who had suffered from Shivājī's aggression, like the sons of Afzal Khān. So Shivājī found himself paralysed in all directions, unable any longer to oppose the formidable tactics now employed against him.¹⁰ Jay Singh established a complete hold on the north Poona regions and besieged Purandar with such vigour that Shivājī could no longer conduct any operations in open. Complete surrender was his only recourse with only such grace as the Mughul Generalissimo would choose to grant. Shivājī made approaches to Jay Singh and appealed to his religious sentiment. But the latter turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties and declined even to receive his visit, until all his possessions were conquered.

In this situation Shivājī, with an anxious heart, held constant deliberations with his mother and advisers and decided to throw himself upon Jay Singh's mercy. He lost no time and fearlessly proceeded unarmed to Jay Singh's quarters below fort Purandar on

11 June, 1665, just after his (Shivāji's) valiant captain, Murar Bāji, and many of his brave Māval soldiers had lost their lives in defending that fort against overwhelming forces led by Dilir Khān. Shivāji was well received on arrival and after a formal talk, was directed to meet Dilir Khān. Shivāji then called on the Khān as he was conducting the siege and won his sympathy by his extreme humility and sweetness of manner. The three then met for consultation and a treaty was concluded on 12 June settling the terms of Shivāji's submission. He agreed to hand over twenty-three of his important forts, keeping twelve minor ones for himself and to serve the emperor loyally, fully co-operating in the war against Bijāpur which Jay Singh was now to undertake; Shivāji's son, Shambhūji, was to be created a *pañhazāri manṣabdār* with a suitable *jūgīr*. Jay Singh advised Shivāji to win the emperor's favour by a personal visit to his capital and receive his pardon. Jay Singh thus hoped to bring about a permanent reconciliation between the two, a vain hope as it proved eventually.

Shivāji personally handed over to Jay Singh's son, Kirāt Singh, at Sinharh the keys of that fort. In the following November, Shivāji joined Jay Singh with his force and co-operated in the war upon Bijāpur; but for various reasons the war ended in failure.

Jay Singh made full reports to his master on his transactions with Shivāji and explained how it was impossible to put him down with their force and how it was advantageous to win him over and turn him into a serviceable ally. With this view he requested the emperor to receive Shivāji in a personal audience and employ his services in defending the Marāthā country which had never been fully conquered. Aurangzib, although not very sanguine on the outcome of such a visit, agreed to Jay Singh's proposal and invited Shivāji to his presence on a solemn promise that no harm would befall him. During the early months of 1666 the subject was hotly debated between Shivāji and his counsellors; there was a strong sentiment that he should not undertake the risk of just walking into the lion's den. The treaty of Purandar was almost a stage-managed affair; it meant no humiliation to Shivāji, as he was neither openly beaten nor his power extinguished. Jay Singh strongly advised Shivāji to go and meet the emperor and induce him personally to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the Hindus after the manner of his great ancestor Akbar.

In view of the antecedents of Aurangzib, Shivāji did not hope to be able to convert the emperor to his views, but there were other weighty considerations which impelled him to undertake the ven-

ture. Such a visit would enable him to obtain a first hand impression about the inherent strength of the empire, to study men and matters on the spot and thus to make it feasible for him to carry into effect his life's mission of a Hindu *pādshāhī*. He meditated on the subject anxiously in his own mind and spent days in consultation with his mother and advisers. He was constantly in touch with Jay Singh who sent solemn oaths about his safety and so did his son Rām Singh who served at the court. The decision was taken and communicated through Jay Singh to the emperor who paid a lakh of rupees for the expenses of Shivājī's journey and assured that Shivājī would be accorded the honours of a *Shāhzāda* during his absence from home. On Monday, 5 March, 1666, Shivājī took his departure from Rāigarh accompanied by some of his intimate helpmates and a retinue of about 300 souls all told.

IX. THE WONDERFUL ESCAPE

The emperor, proud of his victory over Shivājī, was to celebrate his accession at Āgra on 12 May, 1666, taking his seat on the peacock throne, as his father Shāh Jahān had died in the preceding January. Shivājī was to be received in a full *darbar* on that occasion. He arrived at Āgra by slow marches in time. The *Diwān-i-Am* of Āgra presented that day a unique spectacle; all the Mughul splendour was displayed. Through some mistake Shivājī was rather late in arriving at the *darbar* and was led to the emperor's presence when he had repaired to the *Diwān-i-khās*. The Prime Minister, Asad Khān, led Shivājī with his son to the presence. Both made their obeisance and offered the customary *nazar* whereupon they were taken back and asked to stand in the third row of the nobles. Shivājī noticing this affront burst out in a sort of open defiance complaining of the breach of the terms that were agreed upon. The emperor noticed Shivājī's demeanour and sent Rām Singh to pacify him. In the meantime, Shivājī left his place and moved to a corner, vehemently protesting and imprecating, a scene unprecedented in the imperial court. The emperor closed the *darbar* and asked Shivājī to be taken away. It was evident that Shivājī had committed a gross offence by defying the emperor so publicly. A strict guard was placed on his residence in Rām Singh's garden, and his movements were restricted.

Both parties now began to exercise their ingenuity to end the deadlock and smoothen matters. What was possible for the emperor to do? One of these three alternatives—(1) to put Shivājī to death; (2) convert him to Islām and employ him in imperial

service; or (3) to conciliate and send him back. The emperor asked for Jay Singh's advice, and after long deliberation, decided upon the first course—how best to accomplish it without incurring public blame or the Rājput hostility being the only question that he revolved in his mind. With this object, it was decided to remove Shivājī to a new residence, more secluded, where his end could be accomplished without a public scandal. During all this time Shivājī, too, exercised his brain to the utmost in finding some means of escape, fully gauging the emperor's intentions. From 12 May to 18 August, Shivājī remained in confinement at Āgra, devising ways for extricating himself and his son out of the situation. Ultimately, he hazarded a contrivance and succeeded in effecting his escape. After pretending illness for some time, he sent away most of his followers with instructions to shift for themselves. He and his son, on the afternoon of 19 August, squeezed themselves in two separate baskets of sweetmeats hanging from an elastic bamboo on the shoulders of porters, and were carried away without being detected by the guards on duty.

In the darkness of the evening Shivājī proceeded towards Mathurā in the north, eluding the search parties that were set in motion after his escape had been detected about noon the next day, thus gaining a clear start of about 18 hours. "Instead of moving due south-west from Āgra, through Mālwa and Khāndesh or Gujrāt, he travelled *northwards* to Mathurā, then *eastwards* to Allahābād, and finally south-westwards through Bundelkhand, Gondwānā, and Golkondā, describing a curve east of the public highway to the Deccan, in returning to Rajgarh," and appeared before his mother at Rājgarh in the garb of a wandering mendicant on 12 September, that is 25 days after he had left Āgra.¹ It was the most thrilling exploit of all his wonderful deeds, which has for ever added a super-natural glow to his unique personality. It immediately resounded throughout the country, making Shivājī an all-India figure, divinely endowed with extraordinary powers. The incident simultaneously exposed the emperor's craft, still further adding to his evil repute for cunning and cruelty. Shivājī's reputation, on the other hand, reached its zenith for having outwitted the cleverest and mightiest of the emperors.

Aurangzīb felt extremely mortified at Shivājī's escape and rued the event to the end of his days. He cited this to his sons as an instance wherein a trifling negligence led to incalculable harm. He suspected Jay Singh and Rām Singh of being privy to Shivājī's plans and disgraced them both. He appointed his son Mu'azzam, to the Government of the Deccan with Jaswant Singh to assist him.

Jay Singh was recalled and he died at Burhānpur on his return journey.

For some time after his return Shivājī took no active or aggressive measures and spent a year or two in reorganizing his resources. The new governor, Mu'azzam, adopted a policy of conciliation and gave no provocation to Shivājī. A formal peace was arranged, the emperor conferred the title of 'Rājā' on Shivājī, and on his behalf the young Shambhūjī was sent to the Mughul camp at Aurangabad, serving there on behalf of his father in consonance with the treaty of Purandar. It seems Shambhūjī at this time tasted the pleasures of luxury and vice, which later ruined his career.

Shivājī also effected a peaceful understanding with Bijāpur and Golconda, both purchasing his goodwill by agreeing to pay him the stipulated annual amounts of *chauth*. Thus Shivājī was accepted as an independent ruler in Mahārāshtra.

X A FRESH WAVE OF FANATICISM

Shivājī spent two years in comparative quiet and would have possibly continued inoffensive, had not a fresh impulse of fanaticism seized the emperor once more to which reference has been made above (pp. 233-36). On 9 April, 1669, he issued general orders for demolishing all Hindu schools and temples and putting down all their religious teaching and practices. All Hindu fairs and ceremonies were forcibly banned. The famous temple of Kāśī Viśveśvar was pulled down in 1669 and that of Keshab Rai in 1670, the news of which flashed like lightning throughout India. New grand mosques arose on the sites of both the temples which stand to this day, visible for miles as one travels to Banaras and Mathurā. Shivājī and Jijā Bāi received these reports with sorrow and consternation and stood forth boldly to resist the emperor in retaliation. As Sinhgarh was the key fort of Deccan politics personally handed back by Shivājī five years ago, he now attacked it openly, killed its guardian, the Hindu Udaibhān, and wrested it from the Mughul possession, although in the venture Shivājī lost his best comrade, Tanaji Malusare, whose heroism Mahārāshtra commemorates to this day. This capture of Sinhgarh was effected in February, 1670, and was quickly followed up by Shivājī's seizure of the Mughul territories of Kalyān and other places of north Konkan. In April, Shivājī collected a large plunder by raiding several important Mughul towns. He declared he was taking revenge for the emperor's attack on the Hindu religion. Once more he turned his attention to Surat

and plundered it for full three days in October, 1670. He continued such devastation upon the Mughul dominions for full three years.

In this new phase, war continued and severe fighting took place between Shivājī and the emperor's veteran commanders, Dāud Khān, Ikhlas Khān, Mahābat Khān and others. It was round Salher that a great contest raged, as it was a key fort on the borders of Khāndesh and Gujarāt which commanded important routes of communication. Shivājī captured this fort in 1671 and the Mughuls put in heroic efforts to wrest it back, causing a heavy toll of dead and injured and an immense sacrifice on both sides. In this fight for Salher the Marāthās fought artillery duels on a large scale, and Shivājī's Prime Minister, Moropant Pingle, earned a unique name for valour, which bards have permanently commemorated.

One must pass over minor episodes in Shivājī's career—his renewed war against Bijāpur, his capture of the fort of Panhāla in 1673 and so on, which rendered the three years' period (1670-1673) one of severe strain and labour for Shivājī. Such a strain, however, called forth the best qualities of Marāthā character—spirit of sacrifice and co-operation, and a sense of national unity, which Shivājī's unique leadership evoked in his followers and which for a time made the Marāthā name respected all over India. This is Shivājī's greatest achievement.

XI. THE GRAND CORONATION

Thus, after thirty years of hard struggle Shivājī now reached a stage in which it became possible to legalize his position as an independent sovereign ruler—a complete master of his homeland. Such a consummation was devoutly wished for a long time and a formal ceremony was considered the best means of proclaiming its realization and, at the same time of reviving an ancient tradition. The neighbouring powers looked upon Shivājī as an upstart, a vagabond, and a plunderer. He was prevented from exercising authority on equal terms with neighbouring powers, or exacting revenue from his own subjects as a legal master. For more than twenty years he owned a separate kingdom and exercised power over it, but this *de facto* position required a formal announcement.

There was, however, some difficulty. Shivājī had to prove that he was a Kshatriya and therefore entitled to be formally crowned. It was discovered that the Rānās of Udaipur preserved the old Kshatriya tradition and the Banaras Brāhmaṇas performed coronation rites for them in Vedic chants. Shivājī sent a strong deputation to Udaipur and secured evidence that his own house

was descended from the Śiśodia clan of Udaipur; he also obtained sanction from the Banaras Pandits for his formal coronation. One learned priest of the Bhatt family of Banaras named Viśveśvara alias Gaga took a rational view of the subject, declared that Shivājī had proved by his action that he was a Kshatriya and himself came to Rāigarh to conduct the coronation rites for him.

Grand preparations were made. Guests gathered in large number—agents of foreign States, local magistrates, priests, and friends. A gorgeous throne of octagonal shape with profuse decorations was constructed and suitable edifice befitting a capital town had been completed. Saturday, June 26, 1674, was fixed as the auspicious day for the ceremony, although minor rites had started long before.

An elaborate programme was drawn up and punctually carried out. The prescribed rites according to ancient tradition were gone through with Vedic incantations befitting a Kshatriya hero. Shivājī was weighed in gold and the amount of 16,000 *hons* (equal to about 140 lbs. weight of his body) was distributed in charity. The English ambassador, Oxenden, who attended the ceremony at Rāigarh with presents from the East India Company, has left a detailed description of what he saw and heard. It is, perhaps, the most authentic account available of that event.

The cost of the ceremony together with the construction of the throne is estimated by Sabhāsad at Rs five crores. This probably includes the cost of the fortifications and buildings of the capital, as well as its tanks and the streets, of which one notices the ruins today. The ceremony alone cost about 50 lakhs and was attended by some fifty thousand people, all being fed with sumptuous meals for some weeks. Jijā Bāi fortunately lived long enough to see this signal fulfilment of her life's cherished ambition—an independent Mahārāshtra. She died just eleven days after the grand function.

It is instructive to notice the permanent marks of royalty assumed by Shivājī on this occasion in order to announce the formation of his sovereign State. The erection of forts and the organization of an armed force and the navy are the usual requisites of an established kingdom and need not be mentioned. But the royal insignia and the particular titles he devised as marks of the Marāthā ruler together with the cabinet of eight ministers nominated by him require some explanation:

- (1) *Kshatriya-Kulāvataṁsa* (Head of the Kshatriya Kula),
- (2) *Simhāsanādhīśvara* (Lord of the Throne),

(3) *Mahārāja* (Emperor),

(4) *Chhatrapati* (Lord of the Umbrella),

are the four Sanskrit titles which Shivājī assumed at the time of his coronation. In addition, Shivājī introduced a new era of his own dating from his coronation, and on that account received the appellation "founder of an era" (*Śaka-Kartā*).

Another significant measure instituted by Shivājī was his cabinet of eight ministers, each with a department of his own. Most of these ministers were appointed long ago as Shivājī's *Swarājya* began to take shape. The whole scheme was completed and announced at the time of his coronation with regulations and duties properly defined.

The eight ministers were:

(1) *Peshwa* (Prime Minister), Moro Trimal Pingle.

(2) *Muzmudar* (Amātya) Revenue Minister, Rām Chandra Nilkanth.

(3) *Surnis* (Sachiv) Finance Minister, Anāji Datto.

(4) *Wagenaris* (Mantri) Home Minister, Dattaji Trimbak.

(5) *Sarnaubat* (Senāpati) Commander-in-chief, Hambir Rāo Mohite.

(6) *Dabir* (Sumant) Foreign Minister, Rām Chandra Trimbak.

(7) *Nyāyādhis* (The Chief Judge) Rāoji Niraji.

(8) *Panditrāo* (Minister for Religion) Raghunāth Pandit.

The salary of the Prime Minister was 15,000 *hons* a year, and of the rest ten thousand—a *hon* being worth about Rupees three and a half. This works out the Premier's salary at Rs. 4,375 per month in the coin of those days, quite a substantial amount if the purchasing power of money at that time is taken into account. The salary for a minister was Rs. 3,000 per month.

Shivājī appears to have borrowed this departmental division from ancient Hindu scriptures which have prescribed it. Shivājī was an autocrat and allowed no definite independent powers to his ministers.

The Hindu character of Shivājī's *Swarājya* was clearly marked. He excluded all foreign elements. Instead of Urdu and Persian which were the court languages for centuries past, Shivājī introduced Marāthī and coined Sanskrit technical terms for administrative purposes. Thus came into being the famous *Rāja-Vyava-*

lāra-Kośa, a dictionary of official terms. This was composed by a panel of experts under the supervision of Raghunāth Pandit Hanumante. The elaborate Sanskrit introduction to this dictionary is worthy of serious study. Similarly, forms of address in official and private correspondence, office regulations, seals for Government documents and similar innovations were brought into force so as to complete the scheme of this new kingdom.

This coronation ceremony marks a distinct stage in the life of Shivaji. While it gave him a new and reliable status, it increased his responsibilities in no small measure and involved him into fresh risks. While the Hindu world in general rejoiced in his achievements, there were others who became bitter in their enmity towards him. The Mughul emperor in particular started a virulent campaign to put down this new rival striving to uproot his kingdom. The year of the Coronation itself did not pass off peacefully. Bahādur Khān pressed Shivaji from the east. To counteract this move, Shivaji carried fire and sword through the Koli country of north Konkan, Baglan and Khāndesh. He also turned his attention to the Portuguese of Goa and captured their important post of Ponda. Nearer home, he captured the Bijapur fort of Satara and established the seat of his guru, Rāmās, in the neighbouring fort of Parli, thereafter known as Sajjangarh.

XII. THE LAST GREAT VENTURE IN KARNATAK

With all the splendour and demonstration of Shivaji's coronation and the lofty titles of full sovereignty assumed by him, his actual dominion was hardly more than two hundred miles in length and far less in breadth. Even the whole Marātha country had not come under his control. The Siddis of Janjira and the Portuguese were his constant enemies on the west coast. The Mughul pressure from the north was increasing. Even his brother Ekoji in the south had imitated him and announced his sovereignty at Tanjore in a similar coronation ceremony. Expansion of his dominion thus became a necessity for Shivaji. He was the regenerator of the Hindu religion, but all the peninsular lands of South India, essentially Hindu in character, had been long under Muslim rule. The emperor had barred his way effectively in the north. So the south alone remained free for his ambition. There were other considerations which equally influenced his march southward.

The south was loosely held by the two States of Bijāpur and Golconda. During Shāhji's days the rulers of these tried to extend their sway throughout the southern region, but their scheme had

collapsed and when Shivājī appeared on the scene as the defender of the Hindus, these southern lands began lustfully to look up to him for a helping hand. The situation rapidly changed when in 1672 the rulers of both Bijāpur and Golconda died, leaving disputed successions and inevitable anarchy behind. Bijāpur, all along a Shiah State, fell under the Sunnī Pāthān power of Bahlol Khān who would rather sell the State to Aurangzib and his nominee Dilir Khān than let it fall into the hands of Shivājī. The condition of Golconda was even worse. There 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh held a precarious headship with the help of two astute, clever, Hindu ministers Mādanna and his brother Ākkanna. There was no Muslim chief strong enough to preserve order in the State and save it from the greed of the Mughul emperor. The two Hindu ministers therefore came forth boldly to uphold Qutb Shāh and for several years so ably managed the administration that its revenues improved and it began to enjoy peace and prosperity. This Hindu regeneration of Golconda excited the extreme ire of Aurangzib at a moment when Shivājī's coronation had exasperated him beyond measure. Finding their position untenable, the two Hindu ministers decided to make a common cause with Shivājī as the only means of self-preservation.

There was another complication contributing to this fresh move. It was a grievous sight for an acclaimed hero like Shivājī to find his own step-brother Ekoji, ruler of Tanjore, holding himself a bond-slave of Bijāpur and working openly against Shivājī's work of Hindu uplift. Ekoji's wise and capable minister, Raghunāth Pānt Hanumante, tried his utmost to dissuade Ekoji from the evil course he was following. He had with him a number of Muslim counsellors always working in the interest of the Pathān ruler of Bijāpur and preventing Ekoji from making a common cause with Shivājī. On this point Ekoji and Raghunāth Pānt fell out so severely that the latter resigned his post in disgust, refused to be a party to the wicked policy of his master, and left Tanjore for seeking fortune elsewhere. He first visited Bijāpur and, dissatisfied with the policies that he found developing in that State, went to Golconda. There he made friends with the ministers Mādanna and Ākkanna and concerted a grand scheme both of preserving the Muslim status of the Qutb Shāh and extending the cause of Hindu regeneration in the south with the help of Shivājī. The east coast regions sorely needed some power to give them peace and order. The scheme of conquest launched by Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh had broken down after his death. The Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura and other minor rulers were looking askance for some one to give

lāra-Kośa, a dictionary of official terms. This was composed by a panel of experts under the supervision of Raghunāth Pandit Hanumante. The elaborate Sanskrit introduction to this dictionary is worthy of serious study. Similarly, forms of address in official and private correspondence, office regulations, seals for Government documents and similar innovations were brought into force so as to complete the scheme of this new kingdom.

This coronation ceremony marks a distinct stage in the life of Shivaji. While it gave him a new and reliable status, it increased his responsibilities in no small measure and involved him into fresh risks. While the Hindu world in general rejoiced in his achievements, there were others who became bitter in their enmity towards him. The Mughul emperor in particular started a virulent campaign to put down this new rival striving to uproot his kingdom. The year of the Coronation itself did not pass off peacefully. Bahādur Khān pressed Shivaji from the east. To counteract this move, Shivaji carried fire and sword through the Koli country of north Konkan, Baglan and Khāndesh. He also turned his attention to the Portuguese of Goa and captured their important post of Ponda. Nearer home, he captured the Bijapur fort of Satara and established the seat of his guru, Rāmās, in the neighbouring fort of Parli, thereafter known as Sajjangarh.

XII. THE LAST GREAT VENTURE IN KARNATAK

With all the splendour and demonstration of Shivaji's coronation and the lofty titles of full sovereignty assumed by him, his actual dominion was hardly more than two hundred miles in length and far less in breadth. Even the whole Marātha country had not come under his control. The Siddis of Janjira and the Portuguese were his constant enemies on the west coast. The Mughul pressure from the north was increasing. Even his brother Ekoji in the south had imitated him and announced his sovereignty at Tanjore in a similar coronation ceremony. Expansion of his dominion thus became a necessity for Shivaji. He was the regenerator of the Hindu religion, but all the peninsular lands of South India, essentially Hindu in character, had been long under Muslim rule. The emperor had barred his way effectively in the north. So the south alone remained free for his ambition. There were other considerations which equally influenced his march southward.

The south was loosely held by the two States of Bijāpur and Golconda. During Shāhji's days the rulers of these tried to extend their sway throughout the southern region, but their scheme had

the way. Shivājī appeared before Gingee, then held by a Bijāpuri captain, who surrendered the fort after receiving suitable provision for him. Shivājī constructed new fortifications for Gingee, the remnants of which we see at this day. He then advanced against Vellore which was captured after a year's effort. Shivājī then journeyed to the south where deputations met him from the French of Pondicherry and the Nāyaka of Madura. He then arrived at Tirumalvadi on the Coleroon, about ten miles north of Tanjore, where his brother Ekoji ruled.

Here Ekoji came on a visit to Shivājī in July and lived with him for a week. Ekoji did not show any inclination to fall in with Shivājī's views or accept his demand for a half share in the paternal acquisitions. Although a gentle, benevolent character, Ekoji was entirely guided by Muslim advisers who had then sympathies for Bijāpur, and Shivājī's work of national uplift in no way appealed to Ekoji. Suspecting he might come into trouble Ekoji escaped under cover of darkness one night and returned to Tanjore without obtaining a formal leave. Thereupon Shivājī sent his agents to Tanjore to explain matters and, finding that the subject could not be quickly finished, Shivājī left matters in the hands of his *Senāpati* Hambir Rāo Mohite with strong forces, and his representative Raghunath Pānt, and himself returned to Mahārāshtra where his presence was urgently needed. On the way, he seized most of Ekoji's possessions in the Mysore plateau.

Ekoji at Tanjore decided to try his luck in an open fight and attacked Hambir Rāo Mohite at Valigandpuram on 16 November, when in a severe engagement, he was routed, losing heavily in life and property. When Shivājī learned of this result he at once wrote a long conciliatory letter to his brother explaining how foolishly he brought that trouble upon himself, and how it would be wise for him to retrace his steps. Ekoji's wife, Dipābāi, was a shrewd, wise lady who brought about a reconciliation between the two brothers and induced Ekoji to entrust his administration to Raghunāth Pānt. The Muslim advisers were dismissed. As Shivājī died soon after, all the grand results planned and expected of this extensive Karnātak venture fell to the ground. The only benefit that accrued from it to the Marāthā nation was that during Shambhūji's and Rājārām's reigns these Karnātak conquests of Shivājī proved of immense benefit. When Aurangzīb conquered the Marāthā lands, Shivājī's son, Rājārām, found a hospitable shelter at Gingee and the Mughul danger was warded off.

XIII. SHAMBHŪJĪ'S DEFECTION AND DEATH OF SHIVAJĪ

This Karnātak expedition proved to be Shivājī's last great achievement. Thereafter his health and the state of affairs both deteriorated. Dilir Khān began to exert severe pressure upon the Marāthā dominions. Shivājī's son, Shambhūjī, now aged twenty-two (b. 1657), had been misbehaving for some time and was kept under close supervision for a time at Shringarpur near Sangameshwar (Konkan). He was also sent to Sajjangarh to be reclaimed under Rāmdās's care. He, however, succumbed to the temptations, secretly offered to him by Dilir Khān, of some splendid prospects under the Mughul Government. Without sufficient forethought or regard for consequences, Shambhūjī suddenly escaped from Panhālā on 13 December, 1678, along with his wife Yesubāi, and was enthusiastically welcomed by Dilir Khān near Pandharpur. They together attacked Bhupālgarh, east of Satara, where, Shambhūjī knew, Shivājī had deposited valuable treasure and a number of Marāthā families for safety. They captured the fort in April, 1679, and committed a fearful slaughter of inmates that fell into their hands. From Bhupālgarh they proceeded to Bijāpur which was saved from falling into the Mughul hands mainly through the timely help rendered by Shivājī. Discomfited before Bijāpur, Dilir Khān and Shambhūjī turned their steps towards Panhālā. In the meantime Shivājī had employed secret agents to induce Shambhūjī to return. At Tikota, a few miles west of Bijāpur, Dilir Khān perpetrated severe atrocities by plundering and slaughtering innocent population, including women and children. A similar scene was repeated at the next mart of Athni, when the suffering people appealed to Shambhūjī for protection. Shambhūjī made strong protests to the Khān which he resented and a severe rupture came about between them. Some of Shambhūjī's friends in the Khān's camp warned him that the Khān intended a foul game against him of handing him over into the emperor's hands as a prisoner. This terrified Shambhūjī so much that he left the Mughul camp at night with Yesubāi in male attire. As he was proceeding to Bijāpur, Shivājī's agents met him and brought him to Panhālā, where he arrived on 4 December after an absence of nearly a year.

The year 1679 strained Shivājī's nerve in another direction also. Aurangzīb issued a fresh order reimposing the *jizya* on all the Hindu population of India from 2 April. It was an open challenge as much to Shivājī as to the many Rājput chiefs of North India. The latter in resentment started a dreadful war against the emperor, which in the long run he was at severe pains to bring to an end

(pp. 238-41). Shivājī also wrote a letter to Aurangzīb making a strong protest, couched in vigorous terms, against the unwise measure and the wrongs which it imposed upon the innocent population. He wrote: "God is the Lord of all men and not of the Muhammadans only. Islām and Hinduism are only different pigments used by the Divine Painter to picture the human species."¹¹

Unfortunately, Shivājī did not live long enough to follow up the noble words with a suitable action. And now approached the saddest moment of Shivājī's life. He well knew Shambhūjī did not possess the capacity to preserve what he had secured in a lifetime of tremendous labour and activity. He could not, however, reclaim his son. Upon the latter's arrival at Panhālā Shivājī visited him and gently tried to impress upon his mind what responsibility rested on him in his prospective inheritance. He employed a large staff to prepare accurate lists of all his property and possessions—of every item, trivial or costly. But Shambhūjī did not rise to the occasion and his conduct immeasurably distressed his father's last days.

Greatly disappointed in mind and much emaciated in body, Shivājī kept strong guards to watch Shambhūjī at Panhālā and repaired to his *guru* at Sajjangarh to seek solace. But what could Rāmdās do to relieve the Rājā's misery? The two lived and discussed together for a month. In February, 1680, Shivājī proceeded to Rājgarh where the sacred thread ceremony of his son Rājārām was performed in March. A week later, on 23 March, Shivājī had an attack of fever from which he never recovered. He expired at noon on Sunday, 4 April, 1680 (on the previous day, according to some). Out of his eight wives married mostly on political grounds, Puttabāi became *Satī*. One Sakwarbāi long survived him keeping company to Yesubāi (Shambhūjī's wife) in the emperor's imprisonment. Soyrābāi was put to death by Shambhūjī. The others had predeceased their husband.

XIV. CONCLUSION

What the earnest endeavour of one man can achieve in this wicked world is illustrated in Shivājī's life narrated so far. It has not been possible, within the limited space, to give a more detailed account of all the varied activities and achievements of that unique personality. Only the main incidents and their prominent features could be attempted. But even these will doubtless prove the divine gift of genius which Shivājī possessed and which baffles analysis.

"On more than one occasion he so recklessly plunged into a venture that he had burnt his boats and made retreat impossible for himself. Today, after the lapse of three centuries from his birth, even the most severe critic is bound to admit that though Shivājī's dynasty is extinct and his State has crumbled into dust, yet he set an example of innate Hindu capacity and left a name which would continue to fire the spirit of man and shine forth as an ideal for ages yet unborn."¹²

We have now before us for study records and eulogies referring to Shivājī from the pen of those who came in direct contact with him—poet Parmānand, Rāmchandra Pānt Amātya, Raghunāth Pānt Pandit Hanumante, and not a few European traders and travellers who visited him in India in one connection or another. The Amātya has left a piece of writing elaborately describing the polity and personality of Shivājī, a unique production in Marāthī. Saint Rāmdās often gives vivid pen pictures which appear to pertain to no other person but Shivājī, whose valour, circumspection, selflessness, and devotion to religion are now attested to and scattered throughout his writings. Krishnāji Anant Sabhāsad, a member of Shivājī's court, composed an elaborate faithful account of Shivājī's life and achievements, which is of inestimable value.¹³

Did Shivājī aim at a Hindu Empire for India? A look at Shivājī's whole life closely discloses his intense regard for religion. He indeed cared more for religious emancipation of his land than mere political dominion. Rāmdās has exquisitely described this spirit of Shivājī in his work *Anandvana-Bhuvan*. The religious persecution practised by Muhammed 'Adil Shāh and Aurangzīb moved Shivājī intensely and influenced all his actions. He at the same time realized that religious freedom could not be obtained without political power, and to that extent he exerted himself in freeing his homeland from Muslim control. As a result of his visit to the emperor's court he was perhaps convinced of the hollowness of the Mughul empire, and thereafter exerted himself in bringing India under Hindu control. The imposition of *chauth* on lands outside his immediate sway was a means to that end. His coronation ceremony and the grand title he assumed suggest his intention of establishing a Hindu empire, certainly by degrees according to his means. His expedition to the Karnātak was a clear move towards a Hindu India, in which he roped in Qutb Shāh of Haidarabad. He had all but engulfed the State of Bijāpur also. His public protest against the imposition of *jizya* explains his attitude in unmistakable terms. If he had been vouchsafed a little longer span of life, he could have brought about the deposition of Aurangzīb, so clearly emphasized a

little later by his son Shambhūji in his Sanskrit letter to Rām Singh. 'This kingdom belongs to Gods and Brāhmans', 'Hindustan is essentially a land of the Hindus', and similar phrases scattered throughout Sanskrit and Marāthi literature are sentiments actuated by Shivāji's endeavour, so closely followed after him by the Peshwās also. Mahadaji Sindhia indeed felt the glory of having achieved some of these dreams when he attained supreme power at the court of Delhi.

At the same time Shivāji was never actuated by a hatred of the Muslims. He was no bigot and allowed equal freedom to all faiths. He was served as zealously by the Muslims as by the Hindus. The Muslim saint, Bābā Yākut of Kelsi, was treated as his *guru*. Mulla Haidar was his confidential secretary. Ibrāhim Khān, Daulat Khān and Sidi Mīrī were his naval commanders. A large Muslim population lived under him in equal contentment with their brother Hindus. He respected the personal honour of a Muslim as his own. He built a mosque opposite his palace at Rāigarh for the use of his Muslim subjects. Shivāji's ideals were broad and philanthropic, embracing the highest good of all. He respected all holy men equally. Wherever he travelled in his expeditions, it was his particular passion to contact the holy men and preachers of the various localities, he valued their blessing to which he attributed his success. While he intensely respected Rāmdās, it cannot be maintained that in political affairs he was influenced by that *guru*. They were both exalted characters and worked in different spheres in their own ways. Rāmdās was a great practical teacher; he did not meddle in politics.

Shivāji's administrative measures were a marvel of his time and far in advance of his age. He strictly prohibited grants of land in lieu of military or other service, thereby avoiding the patent evils of the *jāgīr* system. While the Mughul administration continued blindly on the same old model built up by Akbar, Shivāji had created innovations in almost every branch. His division of official work among eight ministers, his system of forts for the defence of his realm, his organization of the navy, his army regulations including those for discipline and plunder, his compilation of the *Rāja-Vyavahāra-kośa*, his imposition of the system of *chauth* are all measures of his own creation, utterly unlike what was then in vogue. Shivāji lavished money like water on repairing old forts and constructing new ones, about 250 in all, which particularly suited the geographical situation of the Marāthā region. Each fort was a self-sufficient unit with plenty of water supply and cornland enclosed, so that when besieged, each fort could stand defence by a small gar-

risson for any length of time. The sonorous and significant names given to these forts reveal Shivājī's ingenuity even in this detail and remind us even today what their use and grandeur must have been at that time.

The annual revenue of Shivājī's dominions has been roughly calculated at seven crores of rupees, possibly much less in actual realization. It may be roughly put down that all the peninsular lands, south of the river Tāpti, either wholly or partially owed allegiance to Shivājī.

Many writers, particularly the western, represent Shivājī as a plunderer and a rebel, conveying thereby that he was no steady or confirmed ruler, but a pest to the society. This is entirely a wrong view. Every patriot striving to free his land from foreign domination is bound to be a rebel until his position becomes stabilized. Shivājī never committed wanton atrocities during his raids and never harassed innocent population. He subjected Muslim lands to plunder and devastation only when he was at war with those powers. Shivājī's plunder had the nature of a war levy of our modern days.

Glowing tributes have been paid to Shivājī's character as a national hero alike by foreign biographers and his own countrymen, both of his own day and during recent times of advanced historical research. The French envoy, Germain, who visited Shivājī near Tanjore, wrote in July, 1677:

"The camp of Shivājī was without pomp, without women; there were no baggages, only two tents of simple cloth, coarse and very scanty, one for him and the other for his prime minister."

But what his formidable antagonist, emperor Aurangzib, himself wrote upon hearing of Shivājī's death is no small praise; he said:

"He was a great captain and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years and nevertheless his State has been increasing."

Insistence on order, obedience and strictest discipline were the main characteristics of Shivājī's rule. Bernier, Tavernier, Khāfi Khān, Grant-Duff, Elphinstone, Temple, Acworth, W.S.M. Edwards, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and other scholars and writers have all given Shivājī glowing tributes regarding him as unequalled by any hero in recent Indian history. He was not only the maker of the Marāthā

nation but the greatest constructive genius of medieval India. No Bacon had appeared in India to point out a new way to human advancement. Even Rāmdās did not dream of a new path. Shivājī alone understood how to organize his national resources. He called the Marāthā race to a new life of valour and self-reliance, of honour and hope. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that he is the creator of the Marāthā nation, as Sir Jadunath had aptly put it, "the last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindu race has produced." Jadunath further observes:

"He called the Marāthā race to a new life. He raised the Marāthās into an independent self-reliant people, conscious of their oneness and high destiny, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his race. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own defence, protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry; they can maintain navies and ocean-trading fleets of their own and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth. Shivājī has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage; that it can put forth new leaves and branches. It can again lift up its head to the skies."¹⁴

- 1 For an elaborate account of the political and social conditions of Maharashtra and the rise of the Bhosles, see G.S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, 1957, Vol. I, pp. 17-92.
- 2 Highly eulogistic accounts appear to have been recorded in Sanskrit about the exploits of Maloji and Shahji, after Shivaji's reputation had been fully established. Vide *Sanads and Letters*, pp. 211-215, and the unique Sanskrit composition known as Sambhājī's *dān-patra*. Paramananda follows in the same strain in his *Śiva Bhārat*.
- 3 Most of the old records support this date corresponding to 2, *Vaiśākh Śuddha, Raktākṣī Samvatsara Śaka* 1549. However, on the basis of some epigraphical and astrological evidence, some scholars favour the date 19 February, 1630. Recently Setu Madhavrao Pagadi has suggested that Shivājī was born on 25 April, 1628. J. N. Sarkar accepts Monday, 10 April, 1627 (*Shivaji and His Times*, Ch. II, Section 3, which also discusses other dates).
- 3a According to J. N. Sarkar he was illiterate (op. cit. Ch. XVI, Section 9).
- 4 Cf. Sardesai, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 97, (First Edition).
- 5 The well-known '*Jedhe Chronology*' was discovered among the old papers of this family. Kanhoji Jedhe was asked by Shāhji to help Shivājī. See G.S. Sardesai, op. cit., p. 89.
- 6 Cf. G. S. Sardesai, op. cit., pp. 104-5 for a slightly different version.
- 6a. Ibid.
- 7 Cf. *Śiva Bhārat*, Ch. XVI, 45.
8. (Editor's Note).

The oldest and contemporary account of the capture of Javli, written by Shivājī's courtier, Krishnaji Anant Sabhāsad, differs materially from the

version given in the text which is based on the accounts of later writers. The conclusion arrived at by Sir Jadunath Sarkar after a comparison of all available texts, seems to be more in consonance with facts. His reconstruction of the episode may be summed up as follows:

The ruler of Javli was a boy of sixteen and the State was ruled by the Diwān, Hanumant Rāo Moré. An agent of Shivājī met the latter on a false pretext and treacherously slew him at a private meeting. He escaped unscathed and quickly brought Shivājī to the scene with a vast army. Javli was captured after six hours' fighting, and several members of the Moré family were taken prisoner, but the boy king Krishnaji, with his younger brother Bāji, took refuge in Raigarh, a fort belonging to Javli. Shivājī invested the fort and gained possession of it by negotiations. The boy king and his brother were carried away by Shivājī to Poona and there the former was beheaded. The younger boy escaped and later, in 1665, joined Jay Singh for war against Shivājī.

Sir Jadunath's comments on this episode are also worth quoting. "The acquisition of Javli was the result of deliberate murder and organised treachery on the part of Shivājī. His power was then in its infancy, and he could not afford to be scrupulous in the choice of the means of strengthening himself. In exactly similar circumstances, Sher Shāh, his historic parallel, used similar treachery in gaining forts in South Bihār as the first step to a throne.

"The only redeeming feature of this dark episode in his (Shivaji's) life is that the crime was not aggravated by hypocrisy. All his old Hindu biographers are agreed that it was an act of premeditated murder for personal gain Even Shivaji never pretended that the murder of the three Mores was prompted by a desire to found a 'Hindu swaraj', or to remove from his path a treacherous enemy who had repeatedly abused his generous leniency.

"This last touch of infamy it has been left to the present generation to add . . . the twentieth century admirers of the national hero." J. N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, Third Edition, pp. 44-45. (The last para has been omitted in the Sixth Edition (1961).)

(In spite of his great respect for the author of this chapter, G. S. Sardesai, the Editor feels obliged to add this note as a corrective to the impression that might be otherwise left on the mind of the readers.)

9. Opinions differ on the vital point, viz. who struck the first blow, Afzal Khān or Shivājī, and on this depends the answer to the vexed and much-discussed question whether the slaying of Afzal Khān was a treacherous murder or an act of self-defence on the part of Shivājī. On this also, the opinion of Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., pp. 72-3), supporting the version given in the text, seems to be a fair one (Editor).
- 9a. It appears from some newly discovered documents that Shivājī had been receiving help from the Portuguese of Goa in his struggle against the Mughuls, but Jay Singh succeeded in winning over the Portuguese who no longer dared help Shivājī openly. This might have been a contributing factor to the submission of Shivājī. Cf. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, XXI, pp. 187-8.
10. This is the latest view on the route followed by Shivājī during his escape and the date of his arrival at Raigarh. According to the older view, based on Marathi records, which was endorsed by both J. N. Sarkar in the earlier editions of his book *Shivaji and His Times* and G. S. Sardesai, the author of this Chapter, in his draft written long ago, Shivājī passed through Mathurā, Allahabad, Vārānasi, Gayā and, even Jagannāth Purī, and returned to Raigarh on 20 November, 1666 (*Shivaji and His Times*, Third Edition, 1929, pp. 153-56). The view given above in the text is quoted from the sixth edition of this book published in 1961, pp. 149-53. It is based on a spy's report received at Delhi on 14 November, 1666, to the effect that Shivājī had reached his home "25 days after escaping from Agra", thus fixing the date of his arrival at Raigarh on 12 September. Relying on this, and in consideration of the short duration of the journey, J. N. Sarkar has revised his old views and discussed the whole question in detail in an Appendix to Chapter VI of the sixth edition of his book (pp. 157-9).

In his *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, published in 1946, Sardesai states that Shivājī, after leaving Mathurā, travelled through the country of

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the Gonds on to Golconda and Bijāpur and reached Raigarh "on 12 September, 1666, or on the 25th day after leaving Agra". But, evidently, through oversight, he gives the date of Shivaji's flight from Agra on 17 August, instead of 19 August (Vol. I, pp. 178-80), which is given by Sarkar and others, on independent grounds, and is in agreement with the interval of twenty-five days between the date of the flight from Agra and arrival at Raigarh.

- 11 For the full text of the letter, cf. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, Ch XXXIV, Appendix VI.
12. J. N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji* (New Ed.), pp. 103-4 and 113.
13. The estimate of Shivaji which follows may appear to many as somewhat exaggerated, particularly as there is no reference to many of the statements on which the observations are based. Unfortunately the eminent writer of this chapter passed away before the Editor had any opportunity of discussing the subject with him. The Editor, out of regard for the late lamented scholar, G. S. Sardesai, who wrote this chapter, thought it best to leave it as it is, particularly as it follows more or less the views expressed by him in his scholarly work, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, published in 1946.

For a more proper estimate of Shivaji, reference may be made to J. N. Sarkar's two books mentioned above.

- 14 J. N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, Chapter XVI, Section 9.